1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417

the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

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In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

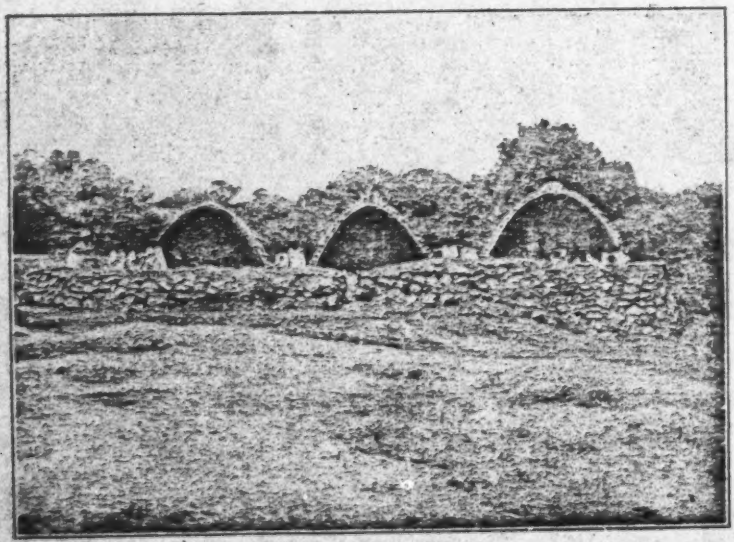

FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in 487 the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either 211 general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:—

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy.

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting-stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
361 There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
● 487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

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There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

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The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursütpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

351 343 [342] [193] [354] 417 233 [422] 487 [562] [234] [562]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

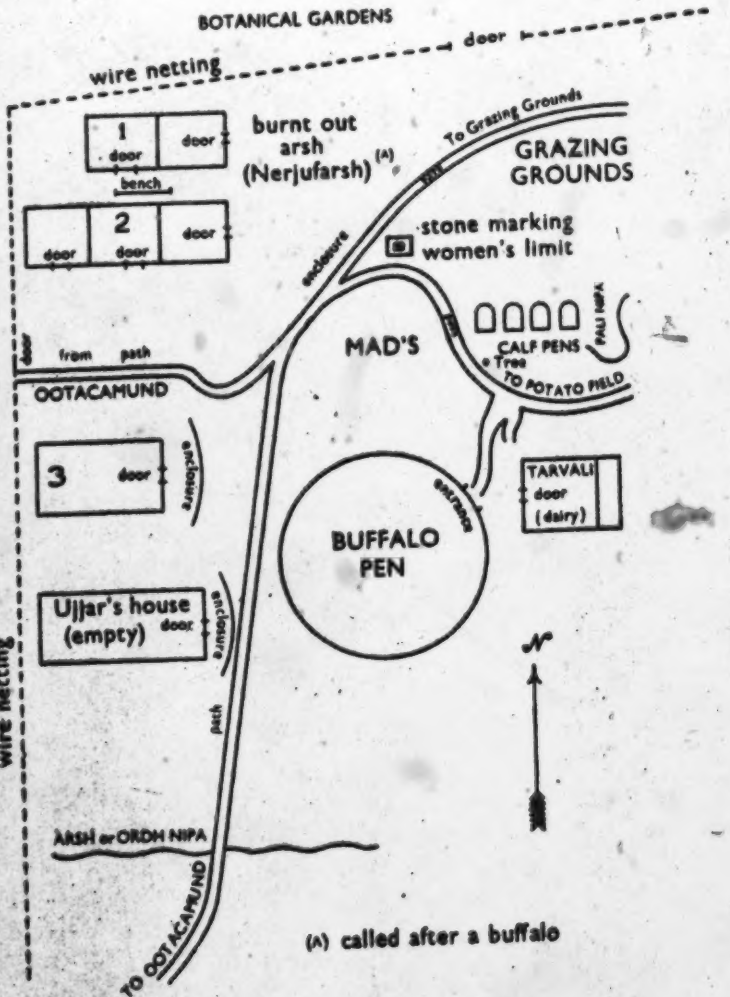
ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

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